

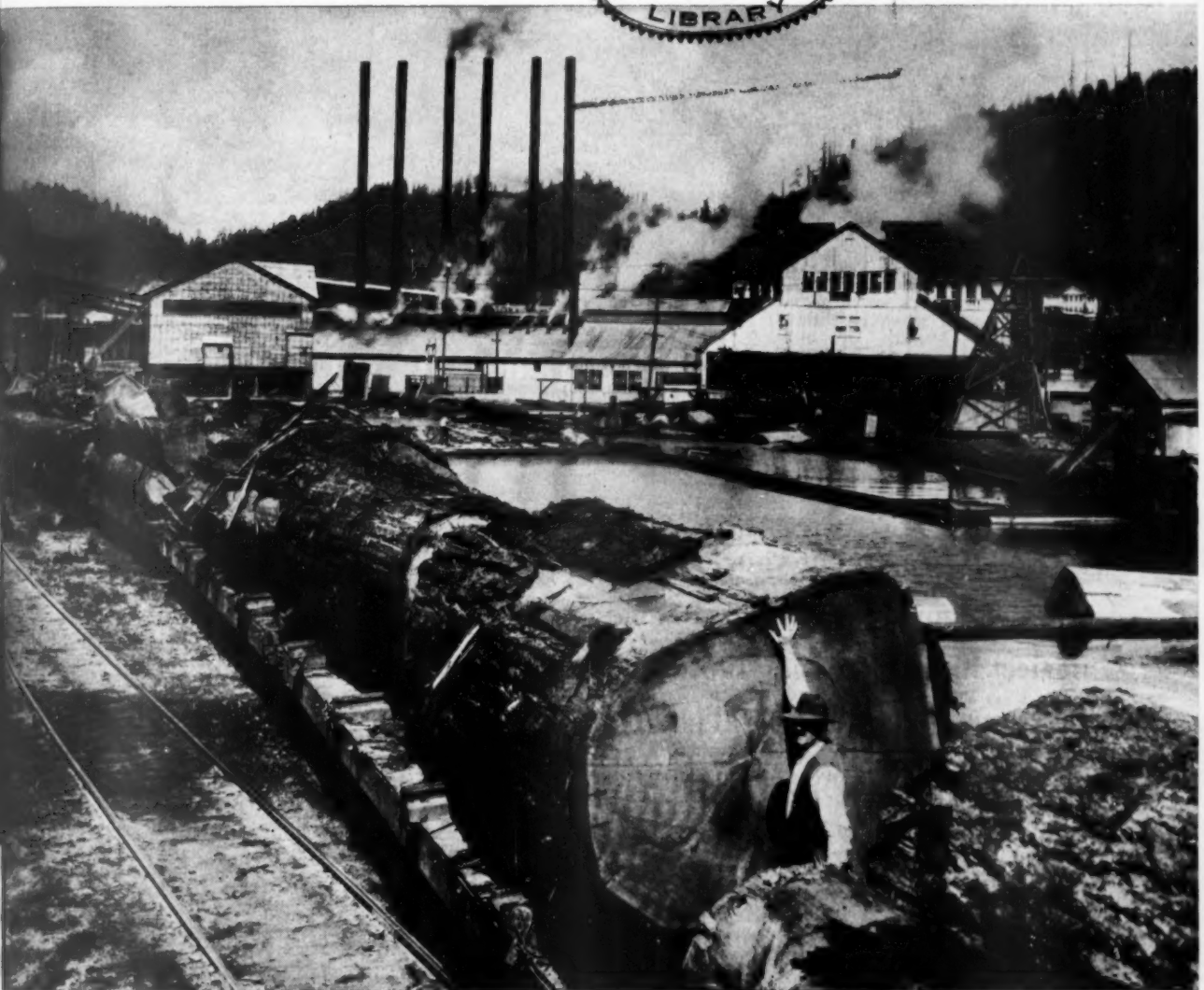
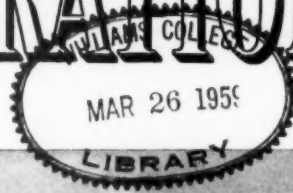
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American

MARCH 1959
TWENTY CENTS

FEDERATIONIST



CALIFORNIA SAWMILL

WHAT THE AFL-CIO COUNCIL DID

The Shameful Waste of Talent Must Stop

NATO and the Communist Challenge



Are you an active member?

DO YOU carry out your duties as a good trade unionist? To be a good trade unionist one must be a good citizen—and a good citizen does not neglect his obligations. Now is the time to resolve to do your share to insure that your union will always be the kind of union you want it to be. Take a genuine interest in your organization's affairs. Study its problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend meetings regularly. It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of consistent attendance at local union meetings. It's at the meetings that you get your chance to take part in shaping the policies of your organization.

Almost all of us want our unions to be effective, clean, thoroughly democratic and deserving of the respect of the community. It's up to us—and no one else—to make sure that our unions always have those qualities.

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FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

MARCH, 1959

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

Vol. 66, No. 3

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Ships and the Sea

There was a time, and not so long ago, when our people were highly sentimental over their nation's ships, from the smallest tramp steamer to the mightiest passenger liner. Our ships steaming into distant ports, Old Glory flying proudly, symbolized America's growing stature as a world power. School-children poring over thick geography books, studying Lisbon and London, Tokyo and Trinidad, could span the seas in their day-dreams and see American ships taking on cargoes in those faraway ports.

To many of us, ships have lost none of their romance. There is excitement in their building, in architects calculating and creating a vessel's lines on paper, in the noisy, knowing bustle of men of many crafts transforming masses of metal into a ship men will be proud to sail.

And there still is excitement in putting to sea. The traditions of sailing are as deep and strong as ever. Ships still move surely and safely because those who man them know the lore of the sea and have a love of the sea.

Why, then, does the average citizen show less sentiment over ships and the sea than his forebears? One reason could be that in the past operators of our ships themselves were as much romanticists of the sea as they were businessmen.

Maybe we in maritime labor can help revive the drama of ships in the public mind. Perhaps we haven't been doing our best public relations job in identifying ships for what they really are—vital movers of cargo, hard-working, sweating and lumbering, and yet beautiful and graceful, loved by the men who sail them.

It might be well for us to remember—and to remind others—just how strong has been the influence of ships on our lives. Their role in history is known to all; their importance to our survival today should be recognized by everybody.

If a way can be found to bring back the old-time sentiment toward shipping, it will be a happy day for all of us in maritime. For a nation proud and sentimental over her ships would never tolerate the present sad state of our American merchant marine.

Harry E. O'Reilly.

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The Executive Council in session at San Juan. President Meany described meeting as "one of the best."

AFL-CIO Leaders Say:

PUT THE JOBLESS BACK TO WORK

THE AFL-CIO will throw its full resources into an all-out campaign against chronic unemployment and economic stagnation. That decision was reached by the Executive Council, in session at San Juan, Puerto Rico, last month.

Labor's campaign will embrace a comprehensive legislative program and a large-scale conference to be held in Washington in the near future to dramatize the desperate plight of millions of unemployed.

The AFL-CIO's program against stagnation and unemployment will have as another of its main pillars a collective bargaining program by affiliated unions geared to substantial wage increases to expand purchasing power in the hands of consumers.

The trade union movement will seek establishment of a seven-hour day and a thirty-five hour workweek, the Executive Council disclosed. Also high on labor's legislative agenda will be an increase in the minimum hourly wage and extension of its coverage, improved unemployment compen-

sation benefits and numerous other measures designed to provide economic growth.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, in announcing the Washington conference keyed to the theme "End Unemployment—Meet America's Human Needs," summarized the midwinter Council meeting as "one of the best we've had in a long time." He told reporters that the Council had given more thorough study to economic problems facing the nation than ever before because "we're in trouble, the country's in trouble."

President Meany warned that the Administration's economic policies may lead to "permanent unemployment" of 5,000,000 to 6,000,000. In predicting unemployment below 3,000,000 by the end of the year, Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell was "talking through his hat," Mr. Meany told reporters.

The Washington conference will be handled by a special four-man committee. Vice-President Walter P. Reuther was named chairman. Other

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members are Vice-Presidents George M. Harrison, Al J. Hayes and Joseph A. Beirne. Mr. Meany told reporters the conference would be as large as possible.

The Council statement setting up the conference declared it was designed to dramatize the plight of the jobless and to petition the President and Congress to take immediate, effective steps to get the nation's unemployed back to work.

The Executive Council voted a special assessment of one cent a member per month for the next six months to create a special fund to be used for emergency problems, organizing, contributions and other AFL-CIO programs. Mr. Meany said the assessment will bring in about \$750,000 for the six-month period.

The executive officers—Mr. Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler—were authorized to issue a charter for a federal labor union in Puerto Rico to organize truck drivers and warehousemen. An organizing drive by the expelled Teamsters on the island has failed, Mr. Meany noted, despite attempts to intimidate workers, businessmen and government officials.

The Executive Council called on the free world to adopt a six-point program to save West Berlin's freedom, including a United Nations-supervised plebiscite, United Nations supervision of communications between West Berlin and West Germany, and a special session of the U.N. General Assembly if negotiations on Germany fail.

The Council charged that the Soviet Union aims

Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler and Governor Luis Munoz Marin (right), who welcomed the Council to Puerto Rico.



Inflation worries of the White House were castigated by President Meany.

to destroy West Berlin as "a symbol of freedom." The future of the entire German people is bound up with the fate of West Berlin, the Council said.

Hailing the unequivocal rejection of Soviet demands by the free world, the leaders of the AFL-CIO termed Moscow's proposal for a so-called German confederation "a crude maneuver for isolating the German people, depriving them of Allied support and putting them at the mercy of the Soviet warlords."

The Council advanced the following program to save West Berlin and world peace:

1. Take the initiative in proposing the resumption of negotiations with the U.S.S.R. on German reunification.

2. Reaffirm adherence to the 1955 Geneva summit conference agreement which tied European security to German reunification through free elections.

3. Hold a free and democratic plebiscite under U.N. supervision to enable the German people themselves to choose freely between the Western plan for reunification in freedom and Moscow's plan for so-called German confederation.

4. Take all measures necessary for maintaining free access to West Berlin and the uninterrupted flow of supplies for the Allied forces and the well-being of its people.

5. Place air, rail and water communications between West Berlin and West Germany under



Vice-President Walter P. Reuther (left) and Vice-President James Carey discuss nation's grave unemployment problem during a recess.

United Nations supervision pending the settlement of the German question as a whole.

6. Call a special United Nations General Assembly session to consider the German problem if negotiations bring no results.

Mr. Meany told reporters that he will try to resolve the differences in reports from a two-man Executive Council subcommittee on a dispute involving the Steelworkers and the Metal Trades Department and report back to the next Council meeting.

The AFL-CIO president is studying charges filed by a former officer of the Packinghouse Workers and rebuttal evidence from the president of the union, Ralph Helstein, on alleged Communist infiltration. Mr. Meany will report on this matter at a later meeting.

The recommendation of the Community Services Committee that the Murray-Green Award for outstanding service to the nation be presented to former President Harry S. Truman was adopted by the Council.

The AFL-CIO's governing body voted to contribute \$10,000 to the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, organized to combat the abject poverty of 2,000,000 hired farm workers.

AFL-CIO unions, said President Meany, will continue their historic bargaining for shorter hours. A workweek of less than forty hours is prevalent in many organized industries, he pointed out. The Council's approach, he stressed, is a legislative approach.

The hour provision of the Wage and Hour Act

has not been changed since the passage of the law more than two decades ago.

The need for a shorter workweek, Mr. Meany told a press conference, has been driven home in the last year as the evidence has mounted of sharply increasing production with fewer workers.

It is obvious, he said, that the country is "producing more with less people and that the trend is accelerating."

In calling on Congress to take immediate steps to amend the Wage and Hour Law to provide for a thirty-five-hour workweek, the Council said such legislation would be "the most effective and practical way to facilitate the adoption of a universal reduction in the workweek."

The statement called also for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress to keep the workweek problem under observation and make recommendations concerning "further reduction" in light of the accelerated rate of technological and scientific progress.

Queried on the possible inflationary effects of a shorter workweek, Mr. Meany replied that "our advice in that field is sounder than the Administration's" and that the problem facing the nation is not inflation but growth.

The Council pointed out that the upturn from the recession to date leaves the economy far from "full employment and production."

The Council called for a program covering wage increases to bolster consumer purchasing power, a government policy aimed at full employment, a halt to the tight-money policy, improve-

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ment of federal standards for jobless benefits, aid for distressed areas, an increase in the minimum wage and extension of coverage, and federal aid for school construction, housing, community facilities and other programs.

Discussing reduction in the workweek, the Council said that production and maintenance jobs in manufacturing in 1957 were approximately the same as in 1942, and that in January of this year, "nine months after the start of the pick-up from the recession, such employment was less than it had been more than sixteen years before in 1942." The technological revolution is continuing, the Council warned, and the peacetime use of nuclear energy in the period ahead, "will probably have a further vast impact" on the economy and the labor force.

In its statement the Council declared that balancing consumption and purchasing power with industrial capacity will do more to stabilize prices and avoid inflation than the very questionable and even dangerous steps being advanced by the Eisenhower Administration.

In a statement on growth in the American economy, the Executive Council warned that the major economic problem of 1959 is not inflation but achieving full employment and full production. Balancing consumption and purchasing power with industrial capacity will do more to stabilize prices and avoid inflation "than the very questionable

and even dangerous steps being advanced by this Administration," the Council said.

The leaders of the AFL-CIO gave general support for the Douglas-Javits-Humphrey-Case civil rights bill as "the clearest and timeliest of the major proposals" before Congress. President Meany told a press conference that a top-level meeting between AFL-CIO leaders and officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will be held in Washington soon to clear up misunderstandings over handling of discrimination cases.

Creation of a national commission to investigate and analyze the price structure, in light of the "naked prejudice" exhibited in an attempt to place the blame for rising prices on organized labor, was urged.

The Executive Council called for basic revision of Federal Reserve Board advisory groups to provide representation for labor, consumers and small business and to curb the policies which have benefited bankers and victimized people.

In a strongly worded statement, the Executive Council said that the nation's development of peaceful uses of atomic energy must go "hand in hand with—and not at the expense of—safety of workers and the general public." The Council rapped efforts to take control of radiation hazards out of the hands of the federal government and make it a responsibility of the states.

Vice-President Paul Phillips (left) huddles with Vice-President George Harrison at the San Juan conclave.





A bit of arithmetic is done by Vice-President Beirne, head of CWA.



From left, A. Philip Randolph, O. A. Knight and L. S. Buckmaster, all vice-presidents.

Progress on getting atomic power plants into operation has been "disappointingly slow," the Council declared.

The federal government was urged to take primary responsibility for the country's natural resources. The Council adopted a ten-point program to assure America's future development.

The legislative program of the Government Employees Council was approved. Special emphasis was put on a drive by the GEC's twenty-four unions for an adequate health insurance program for federal government workers.

The Executive Council voiced opposition to a federal so-called "fair trade" law which would provide blanket price protection at the expense of the consumer without aiding small business.

Free labor should not send delegations to Communist or other totalitarian countries, the Council said. The myth that Soviet Russia is "a workers' state" was condemned by the AFL-CIO leaders. The Council reiterated American labor's opposition to the sending of free labor delegations to any country "which prohibits free trade unions, outlaws all free trade union activities and penalizes workers for advocating free trade unionism."

The Executive Council condemned the "brutal program of totalitarian oppression" carried on by

the Franco dictatorship in Spain. The AFL-CIO leaders called on the United States government to make known to Franco that continued terror will build opposition to continued American economic aid to Spain.

The Council hailed the "heroic struggle for freedom" despite Franco's repression and warned that the dictatorship is reaching a climax of discontent and resistance.

Trade promotion and expansion of fair labor standards around the world based on decent wages and working conditions were strongly advocated by the Council. It urged the United States to press for adoption of such standards in General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs agreements and called on the International Labor Organization to give the question a "high priority."

Development of fair labor standards in international trade will benefit workers and employers in the United States, the Council said, because "it will assure them that they will not be faced by unfair competition from foreign imports based on unduly low wages and labor standards in the exporting country."

In another action, the Executive Council pledged the aid of the AFL-CIO in supplying the personnel "capable of assisting in the development of strong African trade unions" and in the

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promotion of free world labor policies and programs throughout the continent.

The Council called on the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to expand greatly its African activities and, through the governments of its affiliated members, to press for the end of colonialism on the continent.

The Council called on the United States government to strive to persuade "our European allies" that achievement of independence in the various countries of Africa is essential to the survival of the free world. The Council urged the United States to recognize these new states "speedily."

In a separate statement the Council condemned the apartheid policy of the Union of South Africa and its oppressive attitude toward non-white labor.

The Council called for collective action to restore freedom and human rights in the Dominican Republic, cited the "wave of democratic resurgence in Latin America" and called on the United States to bar former dictators seeking asylum.

In regard to housing, the leaders of the AFL-CIO called on Congress to "reject the Administration's turn-back-the-clock proposals" and urged the enactment of the best features of the Sparkman and Rains bills as "the first essential step toward development of the full-scale housing and urban redevelopment program the nation will need to assure prosperity and sustained growth in the years ahead."

The Douglas-Cooper bill on aid to distressed areas was endorsed. The Council backed a \$2 billion federal loan program for community facilities at reasonable interest rates. Such a loan



Vice-President Doherty,
head of Letter Carriers.

program would help many communities which have encountered financial hardship as a result of expansion in many regions of the United States.

The Administration's concern with inflation was scared as particularly unrealistic inasmuch as a "shockingly large number" of Americans remained "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed" last year. The Council said more than 40,000,000 Americans were members of families of two or more persons living on incomes of less than \$3000 or were living alone on less than \$1500.

"Many of the lowest income families," the Council pointed out, "have no breadwinners at all. Year in and year out, millions of Americans lose their jobs, become incapacitated because of illness and accidents, grow old and die, leaving dependent wives and children. Families affected by these circumstances and without sufficient income to meet basic needs account for much of our continuing poverty.

"While some may complacently assume that

Vice-President Al Hayes (left) and
Vice-President James A. Suffridge.



Vice-President L. M. Raftery (left)
and Vice-President Peter Schoemann.



want has been ended in America, both the statistics and the evidence visible to all who are willing to pursue the facts prove that this is not yet the case. What is more, the income share of the fifth of our families in greatest need has not increased at all since the end of World War II."

With one abstention, the Executive Council unanimously adopted a motion to table a letter from Vice-President Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the Carpenters, answering queries posed by the Council on his appearance before Congressional committees, until such time as he appears.

Mr. Hutcheson's letter said his activities did not involve union funds or improper payments of union money. The Carpenters will comply with the AFL-CIO's ethical practices codes, Mr. Hutcheson wrote.

A four-man Executive Council committee was set up to investigate an application from the unaffiliated International Longshoremen's Association for reaffiliation with the AFL-CIO. The committee was established following consideration of a letter to President Meany from William Bradley, president of the Longshoremen, pointing to "changes and improvements which have occurred over the past five years" in the union expelled from the American Federation of Labor in 1953.

The Council approved a report of the Ethical Practices Committee affirming the consent trustee-

ship arrangement worked out by President Meany with the International Jewelry Workers Union.

While the Executive Council was in session, it was revealed that more than 1,000,000 members have come into AFL-CIO unions in the last three years. This was made known by John Livingston, director of the Department of Organization.

Despite unfriendly publicity arising from McClellan Committee hearings, Mr. Livingston said, AFL-CIO field offices today have more requests for organizing assistance than at any time since merger. The Department of Organization, he reported, is sponsoring a series of organizing conferences to help state and city bodies as a follow-up to the successful national organizing conference held recently in Washington.

The Executive Council sent a telegram to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles expressing its hope for his speedy recovery.

"America needs all her valiant fighters against communism," the AFL-CIO message said.

The Council also sent a telegram expressing hope for the quick recovery of Vice-President William L. McFetridge, president of the Building Service Employees International Union, who was unable to attend the San Juan meeting because of ill health.

The next Executive Council meeting will be held in Washington. It is scheduled to start May 18.

Reporters fired questions and President Meany provided the answers at the frequent news conferences.



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Vice-President Jacob Potofsky (left) and Secretary Schnitzler talk over the plan to focus the spotlight on unemployment.

Call for Mass Parley on Job Problem

The following is the text of the Executive Council's statement on a mass conference to be held in Washington to dramatize the unemployment situation:

IN STATEMENTS adopted at the midwinter meeting of the Executive Council, we expressed deep concern over America's continuing recession, over the elimination of millions of jobs, over the great social and human needs which continue to be unfilled. We decry the failure of our economy to expand and thus provide the jobs our people seek and the level of production which can meet the vital needs of our people.

There is no excuse and no need for poverty in America today. We have the manpower, the tools and the industrial know-how to wipe out every last vestige of poverty and economic hardship in this, the wealthiest nation of the world.

Why, then, do we continue having millions unemployed? And why do we permit the unemployed insurance system to deteriorate so that the jobless have to seek public assistance and surplus foods to make ends meet?

Why do we let our older persons reach retirement age without any real assurance of a secure retirement, and without health protection?

Why do we allow millions of our wage-earners to remain outside the protection of the federal minimum wage law and keep the minimum wage below realistic standards?

Why do we do so little to provide decent housing for millions of our families still living in slums and decaying urban centers? Why do we permit scores of our once happy and prosperous communities to become ghost towns, "depressed areas"?

Why do we fail to take bold, imaginative action to meet the terrifying school crisis? Why do we let our workers on the farms suffer intolerably bad conditions while the big corporation farmers prosper?

These are among the questions being asked by all Americans concerned with human welfare. And, let us never forget, these are also the questions being asked all over the world—on both sides of the Iron Curtain. As we act to meet America's social needs, we will strengthen ourselves both materially and spiritually for the continuing struggle with world communism.

The labor movement must constantly raise these questions. And it must work to get constructive answers to these questions.

In order to help focus national attention on these and other questions, the AFL-CIO Executive Council has created a special committee to develop plans for the calling of a mass conference in Washington, D. C., to dramatize effectively the desperate plight of millions of unemployed workers and their families and to petition the President and Congress to take immediate, effective steps to get America back to work.

Council's Stand on Kennedy-Ervin Bill

The Executive Council approved the following statement on labor-management reform legislation:

THE SENATE will soon have the opportunity to vote once again on labor-management reform legislation. It will again have before it the main substance of the proposals it overwhelmingly adopted last year. This year they are embodied in the Kennedy-Ervin bill. We urge that the Senate again adopt this constructive measure with the improvements we have recommended. We are confident that it will do so.

Again, however, just as last year, the Administration is seeking to make political capital by defeating the bill and blaming the Democrats and the labor movement. This cynical maneuver did not fool the voters last year, nor will it deceive Congress this year.

In its pursuit of its political objective, the Administration has so far resorted to two tactics. First, the Secretary of Labor sponsored for the Administration a bill including broad Taft-Hartley revisions, mostly of anti-union character.

Now, the trial balloon having been popped, the Secretary seems to be aligning himself with those who oppose any Taft-Hartley revision in a reform bill.

Actually, every reform bill introduced contains, and must contain, certain Taft-Hartley revisions. The proposals for union financial reports are revisions of or substitutes for the present Taft-Hartley financial reporting requirements. The proposal in the Kennedy-Ervin bill to make shake-down picketing an unfair labor practice involves the amendment of Taft-Hartley.

No labor-management reform measure can ignore the no-man's land in Taft-Hartley enforcement created by the refusal of the current appointees to the Labor Board to exercise their statutory jurisdiction.

We likewise most strongly believe that the Kennedy-Ervin bill should contain, as it does, certain long-overdue revisions in Taft-Hartley which enjoy general support and are urgently needed to relieve workers and unions from gross injustice. In this category fall elimination of the infamous

disenfranchisement of economic strikers in Labor Board elections, provisions needed to reconcile Taft-Hartley with long-established hiring and collective bargaining practices in the building and construction trades, pre-hearing elections and a redefinition of supervisors.

Some of these changes were proposed long ago by Senator Taft and most, like the other Kennedy-Ervin proposals, were in the bill which passed the Senate overwhelmingly last year.

We express our considered conviction that opposition this year to these proposals can only play into the hands of those who want punitive anti-labor legislation or into the hands of those corrupt elements who want no legislation at all in this field.

At the same time we recognize that some Taft-Hartley amendments, including many which we regard as wholly warranted, completely justified and urgently called for, are quite controversial. A clear example, of course, is Section 14 (b), which encourages the infamous so-called "right to work" laws. While we know justice to be on our side, we recognize that this is an extremely controversial issue. We have, in the interest of speedy enactment of reform legislation, agreed to the separation of controversial and highly technical issues from those covered in Kennedy-Ervin on the assurance that these remaining complex or controversial issues will likewise be considered at this Congress.

While we intend to press vigorously for the repeal of Section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, we have not, however, made repeal of this section the price of our support of reform legislation. Our support of legislation never has a price tag attached, and we resent the false, misleading statements that the Kennedy-Ervin bill contains "sweeteners" designed to win labor's favor.

The AFL-CIO wants labor reform legislation, and amendments of Taft-Hartley contained in Kennedy-Ervin are definitely part of such a law.

We say to the Administration:

If you really want labor-management reform legislation, stop playing politics and support the Kennedy-Ervin bill with the improvements we have suggested.



Man who's gesturing is Vice-President Joseph Keenan. The others, from left to right, are Vice-Presidents Charles MacGowan, L. M. Raftery and Richard Walsh.

Statement on the Budget and Taxation

The following is excerpted from the Executive Council's statement on the federal budget and taxation:

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has chosen to make the question of "spending" the chief issue between himself and Congress. He has spoken out sharply against "reckless spending" and has firmly opposed even a small deviation from the expenditure limitations included in his budget message.

In its effort to advance the public welfare, the AFL-CIO has been in the forefront of the fight for constructive programs to meet such unsolved problems as housing, education, depressed areas and community facilities. These are the programs against which the President is throwing the full weight of his office.

American workers are just as concerned as any other group of Americans about the soundness of the federal government's finances. They are also concerned about decent housing for themselves, improved education for their children, necessary public facilities for the growing towns in which they live and the importance of a continuing expanding economy for all.

They feel that on these issues the federal gov-

ernment as well as the state and local governments have a very specific responsibility to be responsive to these important social needs. American workers are quite willing to contribute their fair share of taxes to pay for these governmental undertakings, but they are not willing to be deprived of these government programs simply on the plea that they might mean a small increase in government spending.

The cost of meeting these important social needs, while not insignificant, must be viewed in the context of the total amount spent by the federal government. The AFL-CIO has estimated that if the major items of its 1959 legislative program were enacted into law, the total increase in spending would amount to \$2 or \$3 billion or about 3 to 4 per cent of the present budget.

Even if this entire sum were added to present government expenditures, without any corresponding increase in revenue, it would be but a small price to pay for these necessary programs. However, there is no need for this. This sum can easily be recaptured for the federal Treasury by the revenue that will be produced by an expanding national economy.

The American economy has lost over \$200 bil-

lion in goods and services in the past six years because it has grown at a rate of less than 2 per cent a year when it could easily have been expanding at a 5 per cent annual rate. This \$200 billion in lost goods and services would have provided more than enough resources and federal revenue to offset the increased costs of the social and human programs proposed by the AFL-CIO.

Additional revenue can be gained by closing a series of loopholes in our present federal tax structure which would yield up to \$9 billion of additional revenue.

For example, the cost of adequate programs in the field of housing, urban renewal, education, distressed areas and community facilities could be more than met if Congress would take the following steps:

1. Repeal the special tax relief granted to dividend income by the Revenue Act of 1954.
2. Require withholding taxes on the payment of dividends and interest.
3. Repeal excessive depletion allowances and remove from such tax privileges many of the metals and minerals now covered.
4. Tighten the capital gains tax structure by lengthening the holding period of long-range gains and increasing considerably the 25 per

cent tax rate. Remove from capital gains treatment the many types of income not originally included.

By taking this action, the cost of these proposals can be offset without any general increase in tax rates.

American workers are very willing to contribute their fair share to the increasing cost of government. It is important to note that the steadily rising cost of state and local government falls most heavily on workers and other low- and moderate-income families through the imposition of heavy sales and other regressive taxes. At the federal level, workers are willing to contribute their share of a higher and more equitable tax burden.

Questions of "cost" or "spending" are not the basic issue in dispute between the President and Congress. Such urgent public issues as housing, education, depressed areas and community facilities cannot be solved by a blind insistence on budget-balancing at the expense of jobs and human needs.

The real question is whether such programs are needed to advance the welfare of the American people. We think they are absolutely essential, and we urge Congress to proceed promptly to meet the issue squarely.

Murray-Metcalf School Aid Bill Backed

The Executive Council voiced vigorous support of the Murray-Metcalf bill. Following are excerpts from that statement:

ONE YEAR AGO the AFL-CIO Executive Council called upon Congress to "move boldly and quickly" to meet the crisis in education. Unfortunately, Congress moved timidly and haltingly. The Eighty-sixth Congress must not repeat the sad record of the Eighty-fifth. As last year's statement pointed out, "The future of our children and the world they inherit is at stake."

Even if we had never heard the word *sputnik*, our neglect of the nation's educational system would constitute a national tragedy.

In the world in which we live, this neglect could mean national suicide.

Last year the United States Commissioner of

Education, after an on-the-spot study in the Soviet Union, declared:

"We are today in competition with a nation of vast resources, a people of seemingly unbounded enthusiasm for self-development and fired with conviction that future supremacy belongs to those with the best-trained minds, those who will work hard and sacrifice."

It is particularly shocking, after this report from an important Administration official, to receive a State of the Union message from the head of the Administration that does not contain a single word on the critical classroom shortage in the nation.

And equally shocking is the fact that the President's budget for next year does not contemplate the expenditure of a single dollar to meet this general classroom shortage.

Early this month the Administration finally revealed a so-called federal aid plan for school construction which has been appropriately described as one "designed not to help education but to help banking." It is a plan which cannot be utilized by precisely those communities suffering the greatest financial difficulties in meeting their classroom shortage.

The blind budget-balancing preoccupation of the Administration explains its program which will not require a single penny of federal funds until the middle of 1960 and then would call for the pitifully inadequate sum of \$100 million a year.

A nation which is prepared to spend upwards of \$40 billion for national defense can certainly manage one-twentieth of that amount for an investment in the most precious of all our national resources—our children.

The nation faces not only the horrifying prospect of a shortage of 250,000 classrooms within the next few years but a shortage of properly trained, properly remunerated teachers.

To meet the twin deficit of schools and teachers, a comprehensive bill has been introduced in

both houses of Congress and deserves the most enthusiastic support of all friends of education. Senator James Murray in the Senate and Representative Lee Metcalf in the House have introduced identical bills which would help communities build schools and pay higher teacher salaries.

The clear federal responsibility for propping up our educational system is frankly and boldly met in the Murray-Metcalf bill. While preserving for the states and local communities full power to run their schools, the proposed legislation contains provisions which would penalize states that spend less than they can afford for public school education and would require that the state spend the federal money where the need was greatest.

For too many years now there has been much talk and much hair-splitting over just what kind of federal aid-to-education bill should be enacted. But there has been too little action to match the talk.

Another year must not be permitted to pass without bold action. The Murray-Metcalf bill is simple in concept, bold in its dimensions and clear in its goals. It deserves quick enactment.

Council's Views on Minimum Wage Law

Following are excerpts from a statement of the Executive Council on the urgent need for a major overhaul of minimum wage legislation:

THE FAIR Labor Standards Act, now twenty years on the nation's statute books, should be strengthened and brought up to date as quickly as possible. In its present form the act cannot realize its stated objective of eliminating as rapidly as practicable "labor conditions detrimental to the maintenance of the minimum standard of living necessary for the health, efficiency and general well-being of workers."

The FLSA is inadequate. The \$1 minimum wage—already too low when enacted four years ago—is now so outmoded that it does not provide even a subsistence living for low-wage workers and their families, much less permit them to enjoy a decent standard of living. What is worse, even the \$1 minimum wage is denied to millions

of low-paid workers in trade, service and other uncovered industries who desperately need the law's protection.

Since most of these uncovered workers are unorganized, they cannot achieve through collective bargaining the protection they are denied by law. Neither can they look to the states for help. For with few exceptions the states have been unable or unwilling to provide adequate minimum wage protection for workers uncovered by the federal law.

There is not the slightest excuse for continuance of the widespread exemptions now in the law. Simple justice requires that minimum wage coverage be extended immediately to at least 10,000,000 workers now denied the law's protection.

The AFL-CIO believes Congress should immediately act to:

1. Increase the minimum wage to at least \$1.25 and broaden the coverage.

2. Correct present abuses in provision for sub-minimum wages for so-called learners. If a special provision for learners is continued, the minimum rate for learners should be at least \$1.10 and the authorization to permit payment of sub-minimum wages should be limited to two years.

3. Provide for increasing the minimum wage for Puerto Rico as rapidly as possible, and initially by the same cents per hour as the increase proposed in the minimum wage for mainland workers.

The Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill recently introduced in Congress would go far toward meeting most of the minimum wage objectives of the AFL-CIO.

This bill would raise the minimum wage to

\$1.25 an hour and extend minimum wage coverage to nearly 8,000,000 workers now denied the law's protection.

It also provides for raising the minimum wage for Puerto Rico by the same cents per hour as the increase for mainland workers.

The Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill represents the absolute minimum that is needed to correct the most glaring deficiencies in the Fair Labor Standards Act. It should be enacted without delay.

Extension of coverage to agricultural workers on large farms, which has been dropped from the Kennedy-Morse-Roosevelt bill, has been incorporated into a separate bill and should be considered by Congress.

NAVY PUTS ON A SHOW FOR AFL-CIO LEADERS

THE U.S. NAVY played host to the AFL-CIO Executive Council during the meeting at San Juan, Puerto Rico. Led by Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, Council members and officers of affiliated unions went aboard the *Boston*, a guided missile cruiser converted for aircraft defense. These pictures were taken on the 673-foot vessel. During a special demonstration staged for the union men, Terrier guided missiles were fired.



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Labor in the Old Bay State

By J. WILLIAM BELANGER

President, Massachusetts State Labor Council

THE Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO, came into being last December when 1,500 delegates from the former State Federation of Labor and the former State CIO Council convened in Boston and adopted a constitution for the new organization.

The trade unionists who shaped the Massachusetts labor merger were men of long experience, men who had one objective—to combine the best qualities of their respective organizations to create a new Massachusetts State Labor Council that would be second to none in its potential for efficient service.

The State Labor Council is the official voice of some 600,000 trade unionists. It is an organization which will be able to carry out, to the satisfaction of the membership of its affiliated local unions, the functions for which it was set up.

Four executive officers and thirty-one vice-presidents comprise the elected personnel of the Massachusetts State Labor Council. They are charged with the responsibility of administering the affairs of the Council between conventions and of carrying out, through its newly formed departments, implementation of the organization's programs.

Four departments have been established. They were set up to operate in the fields of legislation, political action, education and research, and public relations. The creation of the departments stemmed from a desire among our affiliated unions to build an organization equipped to give the best possible service.

The delegates who brought the State Labor Council into being were fully aware of the urgent need for stronger bonds of unity in the American trade union movement. The greater challenges of today demand of working people not only more strength but more determination and a more consistent efficiency than was required even at the height of labor's long struggle for recognition.

We can and must organize the vast



J. WILLIAM BELANGER

army of unorganized workers which remains as a constant drag on our economic and social progress. In Massachusetts more than 1,000,000 workers, mostly of the white-collar category, are still outside the ranks of organized labor. It is our duty to convince these unorganized workers that they are endangering their own security and also that of every union member by failing to enter the organized labor family.

The Massachusetts State Labor Council has the task of urging, encouraging and assisting our affiliated unions to conduct intensive drives to organize all workers who are eligible for membership in unions, whether craft, industrial, service or professional.

The oft-repeated admonition that we must be ready to face greater challenges cannot be shrugged off. Let the cynics have priority in warning the world that mankind is too scattered politically, economically, emotionally and spiritually to adjust itself readily to the incredibly rapid changes being wrought by Twentieth Century science and technology. We in the labor movement must lead the way toward adjustment, which can be achieved only through unity of purpose as well as unity in practice.

Much will have to be done through legislation. The State Labor Council has adopted a broad legislative program. The Legislative Department was instructed at our first meeting to integrate AFL and CIO bills which had been filed prior to the merger by the two former organizations in order to meet the deadline for filing.

The liberal sweep in last November's elections accentuated the pro-labor complexion of our Legislature. But our program is not a narrow one. It is a program designed to bring about needed changes and improvements in our laws to benefit everyone. Bay State labor expects to make substantial gains.

Among the bills in which labor is directly interested are proposals for the improvement of the minimum wage, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation laws and for the betterment of the economic status of teachers and other public employees. These advances are necessary if we are to eliminate the lag in purchasing power which contributes to a high rate of unemployment and to the continued existence of depressed areas in Massachusetts.

THE State Labor Council is fighting to get economic relief through our Employment Security Act for wage-earners who are forced to stay out on strike more than six weeks. We are also pressing efforts to win unemployment compensation for workers idled by sickness and for setting up a state workmen's compensation fund.

Other bills in which Bay State labor is interested call for the abolition of industrial homework, amendment of anti-injunction laws and uniformity in the rules of arbitration.

The major legislative battle shaping up for labor revolves around the administration's request for more taxes to meet an unprecedented budget. While labor recognizes the need for more revenue to maintain and improve vital services provided by the state, un- (Continued on Page 26)

The Shameful Waste of Talent Must Stop

By WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

TWO THOSE unfamiliar with trade union history, it may come as a surprise that labor organizations should occupy themselves so widely and so vigorously with the troubles of our educational system. Yet this activity is entirely in keeping with our past record and our highest traditions.

Perhaps the interest of working people in education stems from the fact that so many of us were forced by economic necessity to leave school and take jobs at an early age. We appreciate what we missed.

From the time the American trade union movement was founded, labor has always played an active and constructive role in education. Under Samuel Gompers, for example, the American Federation of Labor in its early years led the fight for universal free education for the nation's children. To no small degree America owes her eminence in world affairs today to that significant victory.

Many union members of that time, both native-born and immigrants, saw in education the only effective means of making good the great New World promise of equal opportunity for all. While suffering from oppressive industrial and economic conditions,

they recognized that the great hope for future progress lay not only in organization but in broader public education as well.

Furthermore, compulsory education for children provided in those days the only practical method of diminishing the evils of the exploitation of child labor.

Today labor's concern with education springs from equally fundamental and public-spirited motives. We see our educational facilities and teaching force rapidly deteriorating, while Soviet Russia eclipses us with sensational technical and scientific achievements. We are shocked by the needless waste of our human resources involved in the utter absence of planning for the age of automation.

We are appalled by the lack of responsibility and foresight which forces hundreds of thousands of our brightest and most promising youngsters to cut off their formal education prematurely because there are no public funds to permit them to go on with their schooling.

As far back as I can remember, unions have carried on apprenticeship programs of their own, supplemented by vocational training schools, private and public. In the old days

the sum total of all these efforts was sufficient to meet the nation's needs. Enough skilled craftsmen and technicians were produced by the various groups active in this field to build America's productive capacity to record-breaking heights.

This no longer holds true today. We are falling behind Soviet Russia just as dangerously in technical training as in scientific research. Unless drastic action is taken, our shortcomings will become even more aggravated in the next decade.

THE fault cannot be imputed to the trade unions. Many of them anticipated today's needs long ago and pioneered in establishing training programs to equip their journeymen and apprentices for the atomic age.

I have in mind the United Association of Plumbers and Pipefitters.

This union has spent millions of dollars in recent years to carry on a farsighted educational and training program. When the late Martin Durkin initiated this program he was regarded by some of his associates as a dreamer. Today his vision has borne fruit and the nation, which otherwise would have lacked skilled technicians to install and equip

atomic power plants, is the beneficiary along with the union's members.

Other unions, too numerous to mention, have followed this example and have invested heavily in training for the future, for the day when automation will completely revolutionize our industrial processes and when workers will need more highly developed skills and education to obtain employment.

The breakdown has come; it should be emphasized, not at the trade union level but at the government level. So far as the states and communities are concerned, vocational education has always been treated as the stepchild of the school system. The federal government, aside from maintaining a small bureau in the Department of Labor for continuing studies of apprenticeship training, has done almost nothing to build up and revitalize this branch of industrial education.

WE HAVE to make up for lost ground. Many of our vocational schools, where they exist at all, are equipped with antediluvian tools and inadequate staffs. These shortcomings must be quickly remedied. Federal aid for vocational education must be promptly and greatly expanded.

There is urgent need for hundreds of new schools, modernized equipment and thousands of additional teachers to do the job of training and retraining an adequate force of skilled technicians for the era of atomic-powered automation that is rapidly overtaking us.

This is not a goal that can be achieved merely by wishful thinking. Obviously, it is going to be as difficult to get additional funds from this Administration, complexed and perplexed as it is by economy and budget-balancing, as the proverbial trick of getting blood from a stone. Congress may be more receptive to our appeals, but it may become too preoccupied with national defense and the general school problem to give effective consideration to the needs of vocational schools.

It is up to working people to convince Congress and public officials at all levels that vocational education has become an integral part of our national defense program, that it must be expanded and improved if we hope to meet the challenges of peacetime industry as well as of defense.

In this effort it might be well for us to enlist the aid of industry leaders. They should recognize as clearly as we that skilled manpower will become scarce in the near future. All too often the leaders of industry, though fewer in number, speak more convincingly in the high councils of government than labor. By combined labor-management prodding, we may yet succeed in getting the government off dead center.

The tremendous waste of talent in America year after year constitutes a shameful blot on our way of life. How can we measure the loss to our nation when hundreds of thousands of brilliant young people are forced to end their schooling as soon as they can get working papers because the family's lack of money deprives them of the opportunity for a college education?

According to the U.S. Office of Education, each year somewhere between 60,000 and 100,000 high school graduates from the upper 30 per cent of their classes do not continue their education into college for financial reasons. This group, it is estimated, constitutes about half of the academically most gifted graduates of our high schools.

How can our government complacently make these figures public without doing anything about correcting the shocking story they tell? Is it only a totalitarian government that can provide opportunities for advanced study to its brightest young men and women?

Why must a free government like ours, which has been so eager and so generous in subsidizing its material resources, providing billions of dollars in benefits to help the growth of industry, transportation and agriculture, balk at spending a small fraction of those huge amounts to develop its most precious human resources?

We call for an immediate end to this wasteful, suicidal policy of government indifference. We propose a program based not only on sentimentality but on hard facts and inescapable fulfillment of government responsibility.

This nation cannot continue to

underdevelop the best brains of half of each new generation without digging its own grave, without imperiling the whole future of the free way of life.

We need and we must have a government-financed scholarship program on a basis as broad as the G.I. Bill of Rights. Profiting by our experience with the loose administration of that undertaking, the government can award scholarships to deserving students, not on a basis of need but strictly on the ability of the student to do high-grade work. These

scholarships should not be limited to those students who have shown special aptitudes in scientific studies.

Our country needs to develop its best brains in all fields so that we can make our free way of life more meaningful. The arts must not be neglected in our search for scientists. We hope our future generations,

given the opportunity to learn and to develop their minds, will produce great philosophers and statesmen who will be able to guide the world to peace and security while the scientists and technicians attain final victory in humanity's age-old struggle against poverty, illness and ignorance.

Surely these great goals deserve a relatively small investment of our tax dollars now and in the future. Surely our government can devote itself to no more worthy and worthwhile cause.



AFL-CIO Scholarships Go to Six This Year

The AFL-CIO will award six four-year college scholarships to high school seniors of top scholastic ability who will be ready to begin their higher education next September.

Two scholarships are to be granted in each of three geographical sections of the nation. In each section one will be awarded to a student either of whose parents belongs to a union affiliated with the AFL-CIO. The other will be entirely unrestricted.

The scholarship program is being conducted in cooperation with the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, an independent, non-profit organization.

NORTH CAROLINA REPORTS

By W. M. BARBEE

President, North Carolina State AFL-CIO

THE STATE of North Carolina was a leader in the South and in the nation in providing free public schools for the children of its citizens, regardless of social standing.

North Carolina was one of the first states below the Mason-Dixon line to furnish free textbooks to the school-children.

North Carolina is also the home of the oldest state university in the nation. The University of North Carolina first opened its doors in 1795.

Our state is proud of the fact that it has established and supports twelve state colleges and three community colleges. North Carolina is the home, too, of private Duke University at Durham and Wake Forest College at Winston-Salem as well as of a score of smaller church-related colleges scattered over the state.

Yet, in spite of all the stress that has been put on education in North Carolina since the earliest days of our country, thousands of Tarheel workers have not had the opportunity to learn their basic rights as citizens.

North Carolina has an appallingly large number of working people who are unfamiliar with their fundamental rights as citizens. They don't know how, when and where to register and vote. They aren't informed about when they are entitled to collect unemployment compensation. The same holds true to a great degree concerning social security and workmen's compensation benefits.

This situation is especially deplorable in view of the fact that North Carolina was enjoying a record industrial growth at the very time most of the nation was suffering from the economic recession of last year.

This is not to say that North Carolinians were not touched by the downturn. Those who suffered the most, of course, were the workers and farmers. The working people who were hit the hardest of all were in the vast unorganized majority of North Carolina's labor force.

At the present time our state shows every sign of continuing to reap the

benefits and the ills of the southward move of many Northern industrial enterprises. The state government is establishing eighteen industrial-vocational schools in an effort to train the workers in the skills that will be sought by the new industries.

It is interesting indeed that not one lesson is taught in all the state's public schools and not a great many in its colleges and universities to explain to the worker how to obtain the benefits of citizenship under a government he supports.

IN AN effort to eliminate some of these conditions and to help fill the unmet needs, the North Carolina State AFL-CIO has moved into action. The state labor organization is striving to convey essential information to toilers both in the mills and factories and in the union meeting halls.

The goal of our educational program is to give workers the tools of knowledge to enable them to build their personal security and their personal philosophy within the framework of a free trade union movement in a democratic society.

Last year we held a series of weekend labor schools that ran for nine weeks. These schools were held in cities all the way from the Atlantic to the Smoky Mountains.

Managers of local employment

security offices taught courses on unemployment compensation. Representatives of social security offices instructed the students in regard to retirement, old age and survivors' insurance.

The AFL-CIO Department of Education and the Committee on Political Education were most gracious in sending down instructors for some of these schools to teach classes in labor history and political education. When the AFL-CIO national office and COPE were unable to provide instructors for a weekend school, the officers of the State AFL-CIO made a special effort to handle the assignments.

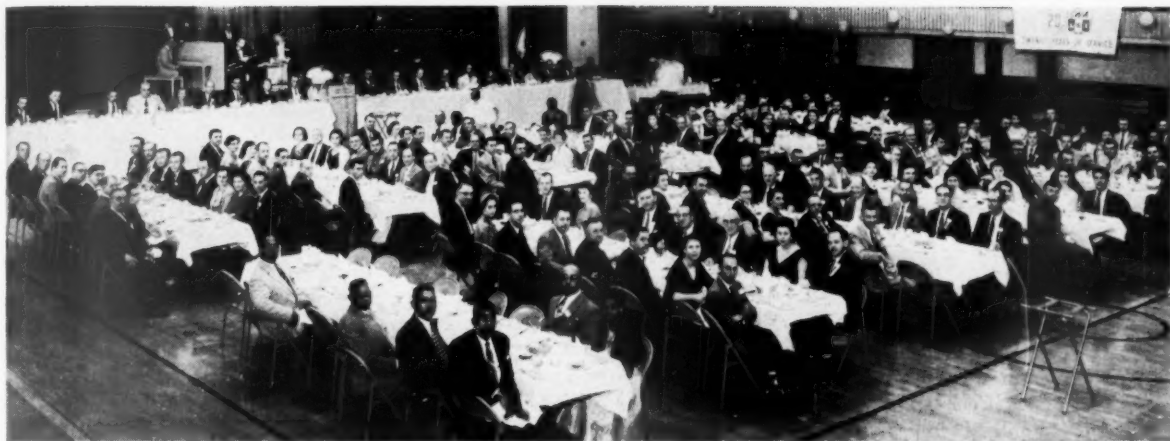
At the weekend labor schools we ran several films rented from the national AFL-CIO office, using a projector that had been purchased for just such occasions. This projector is being used extensively throughout the state in our educational program, which is a continuing one. It is available for use by local unions, central labor unions and other labor groups.

In addition to the weekend labor schools, we held a social security conference at Raleigh last year in cooperation with the Virginia and South Carolina state AFL-CIO organizations. The national AFL-CIO provided instructors for the conference.

The North Carolina State AFL-

President Barbée (center) is in excellent company. Senator Paul Douglas (left) of Illinois and Frank Graham, a former Senator, are his companions.





COPE banquet at North Carolina State AFL-CIO convention. Tarheel unionists feel rather optimistic these days.

CIO, again in cooperation with the Virginia and South Carolina state bodies, held a week-long tri-state labor school at the University of North Carolina. An economics instructor from the university did a magnificent job in teaching the course in fundamental economics. AFL-CIO departments and the Committee on Political Education provided instructors for this school.

We had the wholehearted cooperation of the AFL-CIO's regional director of organization, Carey E. Haigler.

These are just a few of the things North Carolina's labor movement did last year in an effort to bring about a better way of life for the citizens of our state.

Our COPE program had some good results. While this writer would not in any way try to persuade any reader that North Carolina now has a liberal General Assembly, it is quite obvious to the labor representatives at the capital that the attitude of members of the General Assembly at this session is different from the attitude at previous sessions.

This change for the better is unquestionably the result of the activity of trade unionists in last year's political campaigns. Several of labor's bitterest enemies were defeated in their bids for reelection.

The North Carolina labor movement realizes that it cannot rest on its laurels. Not only has the job not been completed, but in reality the surface has not yet been scratched. We plan to continue and to intensify our educational program in 1959 and the years to come. There is a dire need for workers' education. If there were no other reason, decency demands that we rally our forces and

repeal the infamous "right to work" law that has been on the North Carolina statute books since 1947.

The "wreck" law is not the sole reason why Tarheel citizens who work for a living should be interested in watching the actions of the General Assembly and conscientious about registering and voting. Four years ago the Legislature increased the taxes on the average citizen, while

two years ago it gave the corporations a juicy tax reduction, even though it was necessary to float a \$10,000,000 bond issue to do this.

The prospects of North Carolina labor and its programs are looking much better than at any time in the past. The major thing that has brought this about, in my judgment, has been labor's merger—not only in words but in spirit as well.

Conference Hears Rudy Faupl

DEMOCRACY dare not fail people in underdeveloped countries who are striving to eliminate poverty, disease and ignorance, Rudy Faupl said in an address before a conference on labor's stake in world affairs. The parley was held at Duluth, Minnesota.

Mr. Faupl was taken recently from the International Association of Machinists to be the new U.S. workers' delegate to the International Labor Organization, succeeding George P. Delaney, who resigned to take up new duties with the Operating Engineers.

The conference, the first on labor's role in international affairs in the Duluth area, was sponsored by the Minnesota AFL-CIO Federation of Labor, the Duluth central body and the American Labor Education Service. Two hundred were expected, but 250 persons registered for the sessions. Delegates from unions, the Farmers Union and the League of Women Voters came to the parley from a three-state area.

Arnold Zander, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, who re-



Rudy Faupl of Machinists is new U.S. workers' delegate to ILO.

cently visited Africa, told the conference that the main question before mankind is whether or not the United Nations can bridge the gap between nations before nuclear war destroys civilization.

Meyer Bernstein, international relations director for the United Steelworkers of America, called on U.S. unions to organize workers abroad.

Other speakers included Bert Seidman of the AFL-CIO Department of Research and William Kemsley, U.N. representative, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

The Situation in Italy

By HARRY GOLDBERG

- AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs

THAT Italy is again in the throes of a severe political crisis should surprise nobody. The entire postwar political life of Italy has been characterized by a succession of such crises. Given the relation of political forces in the country, political instability is inescapable.

The basic instability of Italian politics derives from the relative weakness of the democratic center parties as registered in the elections of June, 1953, and May, 1958, in comparison with the opposition forces on the left and on the right.

The so-called left opposition is composed of Palmiro Togliatti's Communist Party of Italy and (at least up to recently) the Socialist Party of Pietro Nenni (PSI) which, for ten years of the postwar period, has been a stooge of the Communist Party.

The right opposition is composed of the neo-Fascist inheritors of Mussolini's questionable mantle, the Social Movement of Italy (MSI) and the Monarchists. These groups are themselves split into warring factions.

Italy's center governments since 1953 have rested upon a coalition of the country's largest party, the Christian Democratic Party (CD), with one or more of the other three smaller democratic parties—the Social Democratic Party of Giuseppe Saragat (PSDI), the Liberal Party (PLI) and the Republican Party (PRI).

How narrow the basis of center democratic rule was can be seen in the fact that the coalition of these four parties, which formed the government after the 1953 elections, rested upon a popular vote of only a fraction over 50 per cent and a majority of sixteen in an almost 600-member House of Deputies—that is, when the four parties acted together, which wasn't always.

With such a narrow edge to balance themselves upon, it is no wonder that all the Italian governments since 1953 have been in almost constant crisis. (The 1958 elections made very little

change in the basic relation of forces.)

Add to this dour enough fact the strains within the four-party—or three- or two-party, as was the last—governmental coalitions themselves.

The Christian Democratic Party is a vast conglomeration reflecting all points of view in the political spectrum, from those who sympathize with the Monarchists to those who regard Nenni as the potential savior of Italian democracy.

It needed wisdom, flexibility and firmness to keep such a party united on a basic democratic program without casting any flirtatious glances to either right or left.

Such leadership was furnished by Alcide de Gasperi, a statesman of genuine international stature, whose loss was a grave one for Italian democracy. Since his death the ice has been cracking continuously under the party.

Another cause of constant friction inside the center setup has been the character and program of the Liberal Party. The label "Liberal" is a misnomer, a mere verbal heritage from the past. The party basically reflects the interests of the large industrialists and landowners.

On important social issues involving the interests of industrial workers or farm laborers (*braccianti*) and sharecroppers (*mezzadri*), the Liberal Party has come into conflict with the other two small parties, the Social Democratic and Republican, as well as large sections of the Christian Democratic Party itself, not to mention the two anti-Communist trade union federations, CISL and UIL.

What stresses and strains these facts have imposed upon the center coalitions can well be imagined. The threat from the left (especially) and the right, and the need to keep a basically democratic setup going, tended to keep the four parties together. The differences on basic social issues tended to hurl them apart.

In fact, recent center governments have been without the Liberals, because the Social Democrats, the Republicans and the democratic trade unions refused to participate in or support such a coalition.

What all this has meant in behind-the-scenes politicking, in machiavelian give and take, in the continuous feverish efforts to keep the coalition going, lack of space precludes describing here. But the tough problems that Italian democracy faces must be clear from the foregoing.

THIS regrettable situation will continue to be so until the democratic forces in the country increase their strength *vis-à-vis* democracy's challengers from the left and right, a slow process at best. In the meantime the process would be hastened were the Italians on the democratic side able to muster sufficient political realism to reduce the intra-party factionalism and the febrile party strife that have hamstrung virtually every postwar Italian government. Unfortunately, the way the present crisis is shaping up leaves very little hope for any such development.

Indeed, in view of the incessant party bickering accompanying the frequent downfall of short-lived gov-



Again at the helm is Antonio Segni, a Christian Democrat.

ernments, Italy is in line to take France's place as the European champion of political instability, now that, at least for the time being, de Gaulle has imposed a greater degree of internal stability upon France, whatever legitimate worries one might have as to future developments there.

The great danger in all this for Italy is not only the frequent interruption in the practical affairs of government and the passage of much-needed progressive social legislation but, even more so, the growing distrust of democratic institutions as such which have not, to begin with, been too deeply imbedded in Twentieth Century Italy.

Squarely at the center of Italian

political developments for the last two years or so—and, in this writer's opinion, confusing things all around—has been the rather enigmatic figure of Nenni, leader of the Socialist Party.

Under the impact of Khrushchev's famous downgrading of Stalin at the twentieth congress of the Soviet Communist Party and the brutal crushing by the Russians of the heroic Hungarian revolution in October of 1956, Nenni developed some ideological bellyaches and began hinting at the necessity of differentiation between the Communist Party of Italy and his own party, which had been playing the Commie game during the entire postwar period in Italy.

FROM that time on, people in all ranks—from President Gronchi down—began to conceive of Nenni as the potential savior of Italian democracy and the "opening to the left" (*apertura a sinistra*) became the magic catchword of political regeneration.

Another direct result of this new tack of Nenni's was the birth of the idea of unification between Nenni's PSI and Saragat's PSDI. Since that fateful turn, the idea and the actions attendant upon it have been confusing and plaguing Italian politics. It has left its dead-sea fruit and, in this writer's opinion, has hurt Italian democracy no end.

In an (Continued on Page 29)

San Francisco to See Labor's Great Show

AMERICAN labor and industry will join hands in a massive extravaganza of harmonious relations in San Francisco next May. The doors will swing wide on the 1959 AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show—the largest show of its kind in the world and one of America's greatest free exhibitions.

This famous exposition is sponsored and produced by the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department.

Joseph Lewis, the Department's secretary-treasurer, is again serving as the show's director.

Over \$20 million worth of action-packed displays will tell a thrilling story each day to the thousands in attendance—the story of American trade unionism and the many benefits every community derives from the co-operative spirit that exists between AFL-CIO unions and fair-to-labor employers.

Virtually every craft and skill and service performed by union members will come into view at the all-union panorama at the Civic Auditorium. Manufacturing processes will take place in many of the huge show's hundred of exhibits. Samples galore and souvenirs for all will be presented to the visiting public.

Such prizes as television sets, portable radios, live animals, gas and electric ranges, clothing, fresh beef, cakes, candies and countless other giveaways will become the property

of lucky ticket holders in scores of free drawings.

The trade union movement has a vital message for the American public. Year after year, in a different city each time, the Union-Industries Show tells this important story. It's a message of quality, cooperation and progress.

Quality goods and services highlight the significance of labor's own distinctive symbols—the union label, the shop card and the service button.

Cooperation between unionized em-

ployers for portraying this quality, cooperation and progress in an attractive and unusual fashion.

Since 1938 the Union-Industries Show has appeared in major cities from coast to coast. Last year, in Cincinnati, more than 300,000 attended the great AFL-CIO exhibition. Newspapers in cities all over the nation have hailed labor's massive exposition as an ambassador of good will for the working man and woman—a study in craftsmanship on display.

Months of meticulous planning go into the staging of such an event as the Union-Industries Show. Representatives of the Union Label and Service Trades Department have been on hand in San Francisco since early January. Trade unionists of the area have been hard at work on show plans for a year. Everything is being done to make the 1959 edition of the Union-Industries Show so attractive and so worthwhile that it will surpass all previous attendance records.

Those who are working on the show have called it "a carnival of pleasure and enlightenment." And one man has termed the show "a decorated university offering a six-day degree in just what unions are and how they serve."

American labor's 1959 exposition should be considered a "must" by all who can possibly be in San Francisco between May 1 and May 6.

—DONALD L. OAKLEY.



ployers and skilled, efficient union workers emphasizes the fact that only in a free nation such as ours can those who toil enjoy so many of life's good things.

The phenomenal progress of America's working force, brought together in a family of democratic trade unions, spells out the very progress that is felt in the lives and homes of all our nation's families.

Educational, entertaining, exciting, the annual AFL-CIO Union-Industries Show is truly an appropriate show-

What I Saw in Japan

By RAY DAVIDSON

The author of this article has recently returned from Japan. He spent two months in that country as a trade union consultant for the International Cooperation Administration. Mr. Davidson is publicity director of the AFL-CIO Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union.

DEMOCRACY is undergoing difficult trials in the Far East, a crucial, heavily populated area which one day may dominate the course of history.

Since the American culture springs from the cultures of Europe, most Americans are able to interpret with reasonably accurate understanding things which happen in Europe. But to most of us the Far East is difficult to understand and events there are hard to interpret.

Whatever failures it may have had, democracy is an old institution in many European countries and has developed layer on layer of supporting institutions, practices and understandings. But in the Far East democracy in most cases is a new institution which came suddenly into being after World War II. It remains all too often a paper concept, lacking the supporting institutions, the understanding and the resilience which are needed to make democracy work.

In a recent two-month visit to Japan as a trade union consultant for the International Cooperation Administration, the foreign aid agency of the U.S. government, I observed the efforts of the Japanese people to make democracy work. Of course, a two-month exposure makes no man an expert on any country, and even less so in a culture so different from ours.

But in even a short visit an American interested in the workings of democracy gets some impressions which are rather startling.

Sam Evett of the United

Steelworkers of America and I conducted seven seminars for Japanese trade unionists. In these seminars we conversed with 250 trade unionists. In other activities we got slightly acquainted with perhaps 100 additional union leaders.

We were touched by the efforts of these trade unionists to put muscle and sinew into the new democracy of Japan. We were troubled, too, by the difficulties they face and by the uncertainty and confusion with which they approach their problems.

One of the strongest impressions I received from observing Japan and its unions was a strong realization that both American democracy and American unionism depend more on a heritage of democratic practices, a knowledge of methods learned by trial and error and an underlying ethic of conduct than on any paper constitutions or agreements.

Japanese union leaders listen intently to a discussion during one of seven seminars conducted by the author and Sam Evett of the United Steelworkers.



One is sharply reminded that our American democracy did not develop full-blown overnight but was won step by step over a period of centuries, starting with the signing of Magna Carta. The American trade unionist is also reminded that our unions likewise developed slowly, over a period of more than 100 years, as men tried and failed and tried again to develop sound union practices.

In Japan most of the elements of both democracy and trade unionism were thrust upon a confused and disorganized people suddenly, by the occupation authorities, right after World War II. The people were handed the institutions without having accumulated the experiences needed to make the most of these institutions.

Of course, there were in Japan at the end of World War II many thousands of people who understood democracy, at least in theory, and who

had gained a little practice in operating a parliamentary government before the militarists clamped down as a prelude to the war. There were also a few men who had gained experience, in the 1920s and 1930s, in trade unionism. But these men of experience were few, relative to the 90,000,000 people in the nation and the staggering problems Japan faced.

In view of the unpreparedness of the Japanese people to operate a democracy and underlying democratic institutions such as labor unions, it is a miracle that democracy and democratic institutions are faring so well in the country. Or perhaps it is not a miracle, but rather a compliment to the intelligence of the Japanese people and the attitude of the American occupation authorities. At any rate, democracy now seems to be reasonably secure in this large, strong, industrialized nation.

Of course, Japan occupies an uncomfortable position close to Communist China—a situation which makes Japan's problems more difficult and Japan's continuing adherence to democracy all the more important to the free world.

WHILE Japan has democracy, it has far to go in fully developing the underlying institutions which give a democracy strength and responsiveness to the needs of the people. A strong, free and democratic trade union movement obviously is a key institution in this respect.

All industrialized countries which are democratic have strong, free and democratic union movements. No totalitarian country can permit the existence of labor organizations meeting these specifications.

How then fares that institution—trade unionism—which is so vital to continuing democracy, in Japan?

On paper, trade unionism fares well. On paper, Japan has as great a percentage of its wage-earners unionized as does the United States. The Japanese unions operate under labor laws which, by and large, are slightly less restrictive than those in the U.S. The unions are free of government domination. They are democratic. However, only in spots are the unions strong.

There is room to suspect the existence of considerable employer domination of some Japanese unions. Many of the unions are "enterprise



Americans enjoy Japanese-style lunch as guests of the All-Japan Oil Workers Union. From left, interpreter Tomoo Ito, Evett and Davidson.

unions"—i.e., one union serving the employees of one enterprise. On the face of it, these would appear the same as American company unions, but old hands in Japan caution against applying this label.

It seems that Japanese workers, in their haste to set up unions after the occupation authorized them, used the enterprise basis as the most convenient level on which to organize. It also appears that many of these enterprise unions demonstrate considerably more militancy than do American company unions.

Perhaps the truth is that, like America's so-called "independent" unions, these Japanese enterprise unions range in shades all the way from complete company domination to complete independence of action. Yet, like the truly independent of American independent unions, the best of Japan's enterprise unions generally lack the strength needed to carry on effective union operations.

In all, there are more than 30,000 Japanese unions, with a total membership of around six or seven million. A large portion of these are affiliated with one or the other of the two big national federations, the Japanese Trade Union Congress (Zenro) and the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo).

The division of opinion between these two federations is largely ideological. Sohyo, larger but having many of its members in the restricted areas of public employment, is more political in its objectives and stands

to the left. Zenro, half as large as Sohyo but having many of its members in key industries, is relatively more concerned with collective bargaining and stands not so far left.

It is disturbing that there is a lack of national unions lying between the small, local enterprise unions and the national federations. There is only one national union as Americans define the term—the All-Japan Seamen's Union. It is organized and operates on a basis comparable to national unions in the United States. In some other industries there are federations of unions—rather loose federations so far—which may evolve into true national unions.

Perhaps the Japanese will find another way, but the American trade unionist finds it difficult to envision the development of real trade unionism—unionism which is strong enough to secure justice for the workers and to protect its freedom from outside domination—without the presence of competent national unions in the various industries.

The omission of the national union level in union organization causes many weaknesses in Japanese union operations. Think of the situation in the United States if, prior to the AFL-CIO merger, each one of the tens of thousands of local unions in our country had been affiliated separately and directly with the AFL or the CIO, with no national or international union in existence.

Other weaknesses of the Japanese trade unions (*Continued on Page 31*)

NATO and the Communist Challenge

By **PAUL-HENRI SPAAK**
*Secretary-General,
North Atlantic Treaty Organization*

IN 1949, the year which saw the birth of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the situation of the free world, and especially of Europe, was far from brilliant.

We had by no means recovered from the effects of the war. True, the Marshall Plan, which saved Western Europe from poverty and communism, had become a reality and, since the spring of 1958, had begun to operate. But by the spring of 1949 the results of the Marshall Plan were necessarily patchy, and many of the ruins still had to be rebuilt.

The political event of the moment was the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the consummation of Soviet policy.

This policy, a combination of internal subversion and external pressures, had enabled the Soviet Union to add several thousand square miles to its territory in the space of a few years, to bring under its jurisdiction—against the will of those concerned—several million human beings and to set up, in the Balkans and Eastern Europe, minority governments completely subservient to its wishes.

The Communist coup in Czechoslovakia marked a turning point in the postwar foreign policy of the Western world. Until then many well-meaning people had hoped for a reasonable compromise between the Communist world and the free world which would preserve the alliance that had made the victory over the Nazis and Fascists possible.

So as to be able to follow this course, the West had made many concessions and proved its evident good will. The historian of the future will perhaps add "and displayed too much weakness."

Be that as it may, the Western



PAUL-HENRI SPAAK

world reacted at last and did so in time to prevent the worst. One year after the Prague coup the Washington Treaty was signed. Its main purpose was to put a stop to the expansion of Soviet imperialism and to achieve this purpose without having to resort to war.

Whatever its defects and shortcomings—and they exist—all free men should be deeply grateful to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for having served the cause of freedom so well and for having so successfully defended the independence of the democratic countries of Europe.

This is the moment to ask a vital question: Is NATO, with its present composition, spirit and machinery, still the right answer to the threat which communism represents for the free world?

Ten years ago the Communist threat was essentially European and military. Today I see it as more par-

ticularly Asian and African and as more economic and social than military.

Is it sufficient at the present time to construct a solid military barrier along the Elbe if the free world is to be outflanked politically, militarily and economically in the Middle East and Africa? Has the time not come for a reappraisal of NATO to adapt it to what is obviously the new plan of campaign of the Communist offensive?

When certain dates are lined up, their special significance becomes apparent:

April 4, 1949—Signing of the Washington Treaty establishing the Atlantic Alliance.

May 12, 1949—End of the Berlin blockade.

October, 1949—End of the civil war in Greece, marking the end of the Communist offensive in Europe.

June 25, 1950—Invasion of South Korea. This major event marks the preliminary stage of the period in which we are living today.

THERE is a displacement of the center of international difficulties. Can we still afford to maintain attitudes, however excellent, which are beginning to be outdated? We adopted them ten years ago—and this is a fast-moving world.

Very fortunately, the Washington Treaty and the Organization which issued from it have one outstanding quality—a degree of flexibility that provides for the possibility of almost endless adaptations.

NATO is not only the most powerful military alliance known to history but also an international political council, the like of which has never before been seen; a secretary-

general, a commander in chief, two routine ministerial meetings every year, a council of fifteen ambassadors in permanent session in Paris, a military standing group in Washington, a military command for Europe with its numerous subdivisions, a naval command for the Atlantic, another for the Channel. This entire formidable organization has come into being as the result of the following rather loosely worded lines of Article 9 of the Washington Treaty:

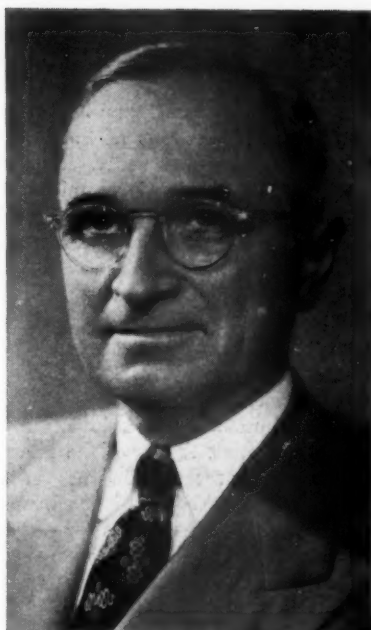
"The parties hereby establish a council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this treaty. The council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular it shall establish immediately a defense committee."

This, I think, justifies my claim that the North Atlantic Treaty is sufficiently flexible to adapt itself to all conceivable contingencies and shows that those who have to interpret or implement it have sufficient imagination to find in its text all they need in order to cope with even the most recent eventualities.

I BELIEVE it to be essential, before we define our new positions, to make sure that we thoroughly understand the problem we have to solve. I mean that we must correctly assess the nature and magnitude of the Communist challenge to the free world and to its civilization.

Communism aspires to be a new form of civilization. What it wants to do is to impose on the world a new conception of man, of his rights and duties, of his relationship to other men, to society and to the state. This conception marks a very evident backward movement away from what it has taken such long and patient efforts to build up over centuries of struggle and sacrifice.

While we, for our part, are doing our best—though possibly not always with complete success—to infuse a moral character into our private lives and into our institutions as well as to follow principles calculated to make a reality of "respect of the individual," the core of Western civilization—while we, for our part, are doing our best to safeguard human freedom and to shape society with



NATO came into existence when Harry S. Truman was President.

that end in view, communism proposes a formula of which the outstanding features are the most extreme form of intolerance, blind obedience, political dictatorship.

There lies the true cause of the opposition between the free world and communism. This is the measure of the magnitude of the struggle and of its vital significance for the future of mankind.

Recent history has shown only too clearly that the systematic appeasement of dictators leads to the most harrowing experiences. Such a lesson must not be lost.

We must therefore pursue our military effort, for, although it imposes a heavy, costly burden on us, it is essential—not as a means of intimidation but as a guaranty against threats and blackmail.

But, above all, before we decide

what action to take, we must assess the magnitude of the challenge thrown out to us. It must be clearly understood that the challenge is not that of the U.S.S.R. to the United States; it is the challenge of the whole Communist world to the whole free world.

The countries of the free world must accept the challenge collectively, in all fields and everywhere. That is their only chance of winning.

I fully sympathize with those who, while recognizing the importance of NATO, see it as a strictly military one and take a greater interest in the efforts made elsewhere.

NATO must remain a powerful military machine, and it is our duty to explain why the effort needed for this must be made. But even today NATO is a great deal more than this.

It is the very center of the most significant diplomatic innovation ever attempted. It is not only creating new methods but even a new spirit where the relations of nations to each other are concerned.

If the experiment in progress is crowned with success, the West will present a very different appearance, for the individualism, the national selfishness, perhaps wholly admirable in the past but which are out of harmony with our own times, will make way for new concepts—agreement, mutual aid, cooperation, the common good.

If we can successfully accomplish this revolution by and for ourselves, we can without fear or hesitation accept the great challenge which, under the name of "peaceful coexistence," is, in fact, a struggle between two civilizations.

This article has been drawn from a recent address by NATO's secretary-general.

WHEN YOU
DO YOUR SHOPPING . . .

Look for the
UNION LABEL

Labor in the Old Bay State

(Continued from Page 15)

ionists find themselves in disagreement with a friendly administration on the issue of a sales tax.

The State Labor Council was unanimous in a vote to oppose imposition of a sales tax in any form and to support no changes in the tax structure which are not based on ability to pay.

The battle over the sales tax may well prove a test not only of the strength of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO but also of labor's ability to maintain its integrity and remain united while resolving a highly controversial issue. Legislators friendly to labor are found on both sides of this issue.

The State Labor Council supported the withholding system for collecting the state income tax which was recently enacted into law. We are urging the Legislature to take the first step for the eventual enactment of a graduated income tax. We shall not oppose any reasonable tax proposal, but we must fight any attempt to impose taxes that bear too heavily on the low-income groups.

A series of legislative conferences in all sections of the state has been planned. Through such conferences we intend to keep our membership thoroughly informed at the grass-roots level.

A department to carry on political education effectively twelve months a year has been established. Political education committees are being set up in the affiliated local unions to keep the members informed and active. We intend to conduct comprehensive campaigns to register all eligible voters in our plants and districts.

The Department of Education and Research is reaching the next generation of workers with a scholarship program in which all high school students in Massachusetts are invited to compete. We plan to broaden the scope of this program so that more of our young people may have an opportunity to learn about and better understand the labor movement.

The Department of Public Relations is charged with the responsibility of keeping our membership and the general public informed on the policies and objectives of the State Labor Council.

Our first statewide conference after

merger attracted more than 350 delegates from all sections of the state. The conference was called for the purpose of instructing local union officers regarding the requirements of the federal and state laws on health, welfare and pension plans.

Work in the community service field is being expanded to every community. We recognize our responsibility to help people who face difficult problems.

Massachusetts trade unionists are fully aware that there will be many obstacles to overcome in the years ahead. Many unsolved problems have harassed wage-earners for years. Unemployment that continues to rise, distressed areas that create economic imbalance—these are only a few of the serious Bay State problems that must be tackled and solved.

Labor is ready to work with business and government in any effort to marshal energies and resources for the launching of programs designed to cure chronic economic ills. Labor expects employers to assume some responsibility for keeping the wheels

of industry humming at top speed, and labor expects that the government, at the federal and state levels, will regard the existence of areas of instability and unemployment as a real threat to the whole economy.

The Massachusetts AFL-CIO will not abdicate its responsibility, but it will not accept the role of a narrow pressure group. The problems we face as a labor organization are problems that affect the entire community. The State Labor Council will face up to its moral and social obligations in relation to local communities and to Massachusetts, and it expects other groups to do likewise.

The merged state body is working closely with affiliated local unions and city centrals. The activities of labor in Massachusetts are being consolidated. This makes for utilization of the full strength acquired through merger and benefits everyone.

We have created a bigger and stronger organization with faith and confidence. We are ready not only to erase the fears that have haunted Massachusetts toilers for many years but to confront our enemies and work in complete unity for the implementation of programs designed to achieve a better life for all of our people.

Schnitzler and Carey Going To Meetings in Switzerland

REPRESENTATIVES of the AFL-CIO at a world economic conference of free unions to be held March 18 and 19 in Geneva, Switzerland, will be Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and Vice-President James B. Carey. The conference will be under the sponsorship of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Earlier they will attend a meeting of an ICFTU executive board subcommittee in Geneva.

The economic conference, to be attended by delegates from free union centers in all parts of the world and representatives of the international trade secretariats, was called by the ICFTU executive board because of its concern over "the complacency which most governments have shown in the face of today's burning economic problems."

Among the problems it listed the

failure of industrial countries to assure full employment, a steady rise in living standards and adequate aid to the underdeveloped nations, and "disastrous fluctuations" in the prices of primary commodities.

"The free trade unions of the world must raise their voices," the conference call said, "to warn the democratic world of the dangers involved in the lack of a dynamic policy of economic and social progress and state clearly what must be done to overcome this crisis."

The agenda is expected to include discussions of the need for a dynamic economic policy, the present world economic situation, the need for stable primary commodity markets and the problems of world trade.

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A MAN FOR THE AGES

By CARL SANDBURG

Poet and Lincoln Biographer

NOT often in the story of mankind does a man arrive on earth who is both steel and velvet, who is as hard as rock and soft as drifting fog, who holds in his heart and mind the paradox of terrible storm and peace unspeakable and perfect.

Here and there across centuries come reports of men alleged to have these contrasts. And the incomparable Abraham Lincoln, born 150 years ago, is an approach if not a perfect realization of this character.

In the time of the April lilacs in the year 1865, on his death, the casket with his body was carried north and west a thousand miles, and the American people wept as never before. Bells sobbed, cities wore crepe, people stood in tears and with hats off as the railroad burial car paused in the leading cities of seven states, ending its journey at Springfield, Illinois, the home town.

During the four years he was President he at times, especially in the first three months, took to himself the powers of a dictator. He commanded the most powerful armies till then assembled in modern warfare. He enforced conscription of soldiers for the first time in American history. Under imperative necessity he abolished the right of habeas corpus. He directed politically and spiritually the wild, massive, turbulent forces let loose in civil war.

He argued and pleaded for compensated emancipation of the slaves. The slaves were property. They were on the tax books along with horses and cattle, the valuation of each slave next to his name on the tax assessor's books.

Failing to get action on compensated emancipation, as a Chief Executive having war powers he issued the paper by which he declared the slave to be free under "military necessity."

In the end nearly four million dollars' worth of property was taken away from those who were legal owners of it, property confiscated, wiped out as by fire and turned to ashes, at

his instigation and executive direction. Chattel property recognized and lawful for 300 years was expropriated, seized without payment.

In the month the war began he told his secretary, John Hay:

"My policy is to have no policy."

Three years later, in a letter to a Kentucky friend made public, he confessed plainly:

"I have been controlled by events."

His words at Gettysburg were sacred, yet strange with a color of the familiar:

"We cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far beyond our poor power to add or detract."

He could have said "the brave Union men." Did he have a purpose in omitting the word "Union"? Was he keeping himself and his utterance clear of the passion that would not be good to look at when the time came for peace and reconciliation? Did he mean to leave an implication that there were brave Union men and brave Confederate men, living and dead, who had struggled there? We do not know of a certainty.

Was he thinking of the Kentucky father whose two sons died in battle, one in Union blue, the other in Confederate gray, the father inscribing on the stone over their double grave, "God knows which was right"? We do not know.

His changing policies from time to time aimed at saving the Union. In the end his armies won and his nation became a world power.

In August, 1864, he wrote a memorandum that he expected to lose the next November election. Sudden military victory brought the tide his way; the vote was 2,200,000 for him and 1,800,000 against him.

Among his bitter opponents were such figures as Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the telegraph, and Cyrus H. McCormick, inventor of the farm reaper.

In all its essential propositions the Southern Confederacy had the moral

support of powerful, respectable elements throughout the North, probably more than a million voters believing in the justice of the Southern cause.

While the war winds howled, he insisted that the Mississippi was one river meant to belong to one country, that railroad connection from coast to coast must be pushed through and the Union Pacific Railroad a reality.

While the luck of war wavered and broke and came again, as generals failed and campaigns were lost, he held enough forces of the Union together to raise new armies and supply them, until generals were found who made war as victorious war has

The nation is observing 1959 as the Abraham Lincoln Sesquicentennial Year. Our sixteenth President was born in 1809. At a joint session of Congress, silver-haired Carl Sandburg spoke the words we publish here.

always been made, with terror, frightfulness, destruction and, on both sides, North and South, valor and sacrifice past words of man to tell.

In the mixed shame and blame of the immense wrongs of two crashing civilizations, often with nothing to say, he said nothing, slept not at all, and on occasions he was seen to weep in a way that made weeping appropriate, decent, majestic.

As he rode alone on horseback near Soldiers Home on the edge of Washington one night his hat was shot off; a son he loved died as he watched at the bed; his wife was accused of betraying information to the enemy, until denials from him were necessary.

An Indiana man at the White House heard him say:

"Voorhees, don't it seem strange to you that I, who could never so much as cut off the head of a chicken, should be elected, or selected, into the midst of all this blood?"

He tried to guide General Nathan-



The Lincoln Memorial is an American shrine. In his address to Congress, Sandburg said: "Millions there are who take him as a personal treasure."

iel Prentiss Banks, a Democrat, three times governor of Massachusetts, in the governing of some seventeen of the forty-eight parishes of Louisiana controlled by the Union armies, an area holding a fourth of the slaves of Louisiana.

He would like to see the state recognize the Emancipation Proclamation, "and while she is at it, I think it would not be objectionable for her to adopt some practical system by which the two races could gradually live themselves out of their old relation to each other and both come out better prepared for the new. Education for the young blacks should be included in the plan."

To Governor Michael Hahn, elected in 1864 by a majority of the 11,000 white male voters who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Union, Lincoln wrote:

"Now you are about to have a convention which, among other things, will probably define the elective franchise, I barely suggest for your priv-

ate consideration whether some of the colored people may not be let in—as, for instance, the very intelligent and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks."

Among the million words in the Lincoln utterance record, he interprets himself with a more keen precision than someone else offering to explain him.

His simple opening of the House Divided speech in 1858 serves for today:

"If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it."

To his Kentucky friend, Joshua F. Speed, he wrote in 1855:

"Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that 'all men are created equal, except Negroes.' When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read, 'All men are created equal, except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics.' When it

comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty."

Infinitely tender was his word from a White House balcony to a crowd on the White House lawn, "I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's bosom," or to a military governor, "I shall do nothing through malice. What I deal with is too vast for malice."

He wrote for Congress to read on December 1, 1862:

"In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and eternity."

Like an ancient psalmist he warned Congress:

"Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation."

Wanting Congress to break and forget past traditions, his words came keen and flashing:

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present. We must think anew, we must act anew, we must disenthral ourselves."

They are the sort of words that actuated the mind and will of the men who created and navigated that marvel of the sea, the *Nautilus*, on her voyage from Pearl Harbor and under the North Pole icecap.

The people of many other countries take Lincoln now for their own. He belongs to them. He stands for decency, honest dealing, plain talk and funny stories.

"Look where he came from. Don't he know all us strugglers, and wasn't he a kind of tough struggler all his life right up to the finish?"

Something like that you can hear in any nearby neighborhood and across the seas.

Millions there are who take him as a personal treasure. He had something they would like to see spread everywhere over the world.

Democracy? We can't say exactly what it is, but he had it. In his blood and bones he carried it. In the breath of his speeches and writings it is there.

Popular government? Republican institutions? Government where the people have the say-so, one way or

another, telling their elected leaders what they want?

He had the idea. It's there in the lights and shadows of his personality, a mystery that can be lived but never fully spoken in words.

Our good friend, the poet and playwright Mark Van Doren, tells us, "To me Lincoln seems, in some ways, the most interesting man who ever lived. * * * He was gentle, but this gentleness was combined with a

terrific toughness, an iron strength."

How did he say he would like to be remembered? His beloved friend, Representative Owen Lovejoy of Illinois, had died in May of 1864 and friends wrote to Lincoln, and he replied that the pressure of duties kept him from joining them in efforts for a marble monument to Lovejoy, the last sentence of his letter saying:

"Let him have the marble monument along with the well-assured and

more enduring one in the hearts of those who love liberty, unselfishly, for all men."

So perhaps we may say that the well-assured and most enduring memorial to Lincoln is invisibly there, today, tomorrow and for a long time yet to come, in the hearts of lovers of liberty, men and women who understand that wherever there is freedom there have been those who fought and sacrificed for it.

The Situation in Italy

(Continued from Page 21)

article for this magazine in August, 1957, I wrote:

"Let me say definitely that if Socialist unification could be achieved on an authentic, democratic basis, with Nenni and the PSI adopting the principles, supported by the Socialist International, of Atlanticism and NATO as the indispensable weapons of defense against predatory Soviet imperialism, such a unification could serve a useful purpose.

"It would mean at the least a definite break with the Communists, and any weakening of the still too strong Communist totalitarians of Italy can only be regarded as a distinct plus for Italian democracy. However, the record since the idea of Socialist unification was born * * * has been the exact opposite.

"The political line of Nenni's PSI—in spite of some criticism of Russia and the Italian Communist Party induced by the Hungarian events—has remained an extreme Left Socialist one which equates the United States and Soviet Russia in the pernicious two-bloc theory. * * * In addition to its political line, Nenni's PSI, even after the cynical murder of the Hungarian people by the Soviet Union, refused to break with Togliatti's Communist Party of Italy on the trade union field. * * *

"Whatever other factors may have made their contributions, there isn't the slightest doubt that Socialist unification illusionism has created confusion and division within the democratic parties, especially the Social Democratic and Republican, and has helped directly to create the present governmental crisis by bringing about the downfall of the previous center government of Segni."

I see no reason to change in the slightest the basic evaluation made a year and a half ago. In fact, present developments, in my opinion, only sustain the judgment rendered then.

For we see history repeating itself under our eyes. Again a government has fallen. (It is ironic that the government Nenni helped bury in 1957 was headed by the man now designated by Gronchi to try to overcome the crisis created by the downfall of the Fanfani government.) Again the democratic parties are divided and in deep crisis. Only this time the crisis is worse than ever before.

The Christian Democratic Party is more woefully split than ever, with its leader and former Prime Minister, Fanfani, departing in disgust, at least for the present, from political life.

The Left Socialist romantics inside Saragat's PSDI, driven by their illusions re Nenni's democracy-saving potential, and led by Matteotti and Vigorelli (whose resignation as Minister of Labor precipitated the downfall of Fanfani's government), have just formed a third Socialist grouplet, "Socialist Initiative," as a splitoff from the PSDI, thus further bedeviling an already grave situation.

One can only concur in Saragat's condemnation of his erstwhile comrades:

"Their action has been detrimental to the best interests of the workers, of democracy and of Italy."

So much damage has been done to democracy by the Nenni episode—not yet finished by any means—that one can only say that the Communists couldn't be more satisfied with the results if they had planned it exactly this way. These are the objective, real results today, no matter what

Nenni's real intentions may or may not be.

Certainly one can't tell from the motion which he put through at the PSI congress in Naples in January. Verbally, the formal break of the long-time postwar tie with the Communist Party of Italy was registered in the motion proposed by Nenni. It is necessary to add, however, that all actual ties with the Communists where they count in Italian politics and labor were not only not broken but, on the contrary, maintained on Nenni's own specific admonition.

The unity with the Communists in the CGIL, the Communist-dominated trade union federation and one of its chief agencies for social mischief, is to be maintained. The local political administrations in more than 2,000 Italian towns and villages won by joint PCI-PSI tickets in the administrative elections are to be maintained.

Joint administration of many co-operatives all over Italy—and they are important economic institutions serving workers, and therefore also instruments of economic "persuasion" and pressure upon them—are also to be maintained.

At the congress Nenni sharply attacked American policies in the Middle East and Far East and went more than halfway in support of the Soviet attack on Berlin.

On the matter of Socialist unification he arrogantly told the PSDI that it could be realized only inside the PSI and only on the basis proposed by the PSI. In other words, he invited the PSDI to come in and be swallowed.

Finally, Nenni sent friendly greetings to the recent twenty-first congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Where, one may legitimately ask, can one discern the basis for a real and not fictitious break with the

Communists? Where are the valid grounds for the wildly optimistic judgments rampant in too many quarters as to Nenni's "great advance"?

Saragat was eminently justified in rejecting the empty, equivocal motion passed by the PSI congress as an adequate basis for continuing the dialogue between the PSDI and the PSI for Socialist unification or for accepting Nenni's democratic *bona fides*. He is 100 per cent correct in insisting that more concrete proofs of a real break with the Communists be forthcoming before Nenni is admitted into democracy's inner citadel.

Elementary realism would seem to dictate that a more cautious approach, a more pragmatic yardstick be applied to Nenni's claims. It is assuredly a sign of the impulsive individualism, the romantic adventurism so rampant in many Italian political quarters that Nenni can be so fervidly embraced as a good democrat while he still clings to his political neutralism between East and West, and that his "break" with the Communists can be celebrated as an actuality while he still maintains the working alliance with them in strategic points of power—the trade unions, the local political administrations, the cooperatives.

This wishful thinking in anticipation of desired ends ("*in anticipo*," as the Italians say) is a sign of how hard political maturity still comes in Italy today.

Certainly a sobering consideration for those romantic spirits who talk as if Nenni already has absolute control of the PSI should be the *actual* situation inside the party. That purported "absolute control" is a figment of the imagination.

Actually, Nenni's weak, pusillanimous motion received at the Naples congress only the small majority of 58.30 per cent of the vote. The hard pro-Communist core of the PSI, led by Vecchiotti, received 32.65 per cent of the vote, while a third in-between group, led by Basso, received 8.73 per cent of the vote. Thus, the anti-Nenni forces received almost 42 per cent of the vote—in popular terms, almost 200,000 votes as against Nenni's 273,000.

This hardly establishes Nenni as the undisputed master of the PSI. At best he will walk softly and talk equivocally, and that for quite some time to come yet. Whether his walk-

ing on both sides of the street, as it were, is the necessary tactical accommodation to the difficult internal situation of his party, or something else, as I believe, nobody really knows.

The criminal aspect of it all is that so many accept as an actuality today what can only be a mere possibility in the future and, on the basis of that, act now to create division, extend political instability, deepen crises and weaken democracy.

This applies with special force to the Matteottis and the Vigorellis and their followers.

Not division and dispersion but greater democratic concentration and cooperation are necessary in face of the Nenni equivocation.

In the meantime President Gronchi designated a former Prime Minister, Antonio Segni, a Christian Democrat of progressive, left-of-center tendencies, to form a new government.

The inner-party divisions, the intra-party squabbles are continuing; the PSDI has lost a fraction of its party to its irresponsibles; the Social Democrats and the Republicans want to have nothing to do with the Liberal Party; the Republicans do not want to join any coalition.

IT WAS to be hoped that this succession of political crises would have a sobering effect upon the democratic parties. Elementary realism would seem to indicate that, given the present relation of forces, a give-and-take compromise among the various democratic parties is necessary in order to keep a working government going, that an insistence by each democratic party on the adoption of its complete program before it would play ball is simply irresponsible. First and foremost, it is necessary to defend democracy, to create and sustain a working democratic institutional setup.

The Christian Democratic Party, the largest one, hasn't a majority. To form a government it needs allies either on the left or right. The left-of-center democratic parties like the PSDI and PRI will not permit the formation of a desired majority by allowing the Liberal Party to participate in a coalition, yet thunder against any move to the right on the part of the Christian Democrats.

This merely insures the continuation of the political crisis and a succession of weak, temporary governments. Another national election,

though in the realm of constitutional possibility, is hardly feasible or desirable in view of the enormous political and social energy involved and the fact that it would, in all probability, leave the relation of political forces pretty much the same.

The probable outcome of the present crisis will be a one-party Christian Democratic government. Since it cannot count for its parliamentary majority on the democratic left, it will be forced to try to get it from the right.

Such a government can have only an uneasy, temporary life. It would be open to demagogic pressure from both sides. Certainly the possibility on the governmental level of the steady implementation of progressive social policies, so necessary to contain and lessen the Communist threat, would be severely limited. Under such a government the Communists, not to mention Nenni, are bound to extend their influence.

The very existence and character of such a government is a dramatic symbol of the ineptitude and lack of statesmanship of the democratic parties. It is a situation which no genuine democrat and friend of Italy can be happy about.

But the uncertain, critical situation of which such a government is a symbol will continue until such time as the Italian democrats, somehow, from somewhere, learn to temper their personal impulsive romanticism, transcend the innumerable personal vendettas inside and outside the parties, mend the internal party divisions, lessen the intra-party squabbles in the interest of a cooperative effort to overcome this semi-permanent political crisis, this frustrating immobilism, at least until such a time when the substantial strengthening of the base of democratic support will once more allow the luxury (and, be it said, the necessity) of a full, vigorous, critical activity, which is the breath of life of the democratic process.

Otherwise there looms upon the horizon for Italy another "man on horseback" or, conceivably, something much worse.

Postscript

This article was written before the Segni government was formed. As it predicted, Segni has obtained his support from the right. The vote in

the Chamber of Deputies, 338 to 248, was the largest vote of confidence of any Italian government since 1948, when the republic was proclaimed. This large majority vote was amassed with the support of the conservative Liberal Party, the Monarchists and the neo-Fascists.

The three deputies from the German-speaking section of Upper Adige, in Southern Tyrol, voted with the opposition, thus reflecting the present dispute between Italy and Austria over this section.

Olivetti, the Italian typewriter king and the only representative in Parlia-

ment of his Communista Party, a genuine liberal and humanist though an industrialist, abstained.

Saragat's Social Democratic Party and the Republican Party of Pacciardi find themselves in the opposition together with the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Nenni. This is as regrettable as it is symbolic of the confusion and division among the democratic forces. In the general opposition they will be swallowed and can only drag along behind Togliatti and Nenni, who will set the tone and decide the line of opposition.

That Giulio Pastore, the former

general secretary of CISL, has remained in Segni's cabinet as Minister of Southern Agrarian Reform is an indication that the necessary line of social reform will be represented and fought for inside the government.

Whether Pastore and others who may think like him will be able to swing the Segni government in a generally progressive direction is highly questionable, in view of the fact that it must look for its support from the right.

It looks as if this new government will have an uneasy time of it. There are troublous days ahead for Italy.

What I Saw in Japan

(Continued from Page 23)

could be enumerated, but there is little point in dwelling on them at this time. Given a reasonable opportunity, the Japanese trade unionists will work out these weaknesses and will establish for themselves a sound and workable trade union structure suitable to their own nation and its peculiar industrial practices.

We can only hope that Japan's workers will have this reasonable opportunity. There is danger that this natural evolution will be interrupted by an unbearable crisis of one sort or another—a serious depression in overpopulated, resource-poor Japan, a world political crisis, infiltration by the “pie in the sky” boys directed from Peiping and Moscow, or the ascendancy of native totalitarian elements if one of the aforementioned crises make the conditions right for the latter to move.

Because of these dangers of interruption of normal growth and development and because of the real need of Japanese working people for a better standard of living at an earlier date than gradual development can bring it about, American trade unionists should be concerned about the welfare of their brothers and sisters in Japan.

A long time ago the American trade union movement learned that it is beneficial to the prosperity and the security of the wage-earners of our country when working people in other nations prosper. Hunger and hardship in another land never add to the prosperity and security of American working people.

Japan is America's second best foreign customer. Higher incomes for Japanese workers would mean a still better market for us.

Japan is democracy's strong bastion in the Far East. A depression or a loss of democracy in that country would woefully weaken the global cause of “bread, peace and freedom” in an already sorely troubled part of the world.

Alongside the weaknesses of the Japanese trade union movement are many strengths which work in our favor. There is every indication that the Japanese people are in dead earnest about the proposition of making democracy work. They have experienced a vivid comparison of totalitarianism and democracy. They are pleased with their taste of democracy.

The Japanese are intelligent and energetic people. They are surprisingly well-informed for a people rather isolated from the rest of the world.

Japanese trade unionists know a lot about trade union theory. Their weakness appears in the translation of theory into practical, day-to-day operations.

There is every indication that the Japanese are generally friendly toward America and Americans. They got tired of and irritated by the post-war occupation and the quasi-occupation which has continued since the signing of the peace treaty, yet nearly all concede that America has been a good friend throughout this period.

Nearly all Japanese admire American technology and apparently most

of them like American personalities.

The International Cooperation Administration, America's foreign aid agency, is carrying on a limited program of assistance to Japanese unions. A major phase is the sending of Japanese trade unionists to the United States to study union operations in our country. Thus far, few American unionists have been sent to Japan.

There are only four regular American labor consultants assigned to Japan by the government—the embassy's labor attache, an assistant attache, a labor technical officer for ICA and one information specialist from the U.S. Information Agency. These individuals, although they are too few in number, are doing an effective job. (It should be understood that consultants also are provided by the United States for the various phases of management.)

This writer would say that the efforts of the ICFU and the international trade secretariats in Japan have not been very successful up to now. The reasons given for this vary with the point of view of the observer.

The survival and growth of democracy among the 90,000,000 people of Japan are of major importance in determining the future of the Far East. Strong, free and democratic trade unionism is a vital institution for the support of this democracy.

Any assistance which U.S. labor can extend to Japanese trade unionists will promote the cause of bread, peace and freedom for all the world, provided this assistance is extended with intelligence, an attitude of genuine fraternity and a respectful recognition of the nature, customs and needs of the Japanese people.

WHAT THEY SAY

Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers—We have a



big problem on our hands because we are in the vanguard of the struggle for human progress. Because we are in the vanguard we are going to be called upon to fight the most difficult of struggles. I believe our task is twofold. We have to carry on the job of organizing the unorganized, of carrying the message of unionism to the millions of workers yet unorganized. And the other job is of equal importance—the practical, everyday job of unionizing the organized.

There are still too many workers who believe that when they have paid their dues that ends their responsibilities. I say that the union member's responsibilities begin when he pays his dues. The labor movement will be no stronger, no more effective than the rank-and-file members make it.

We have got to organize the unorganized and unionize the organized, so that every member of a union will know where we are going, how we hope to get there, what tools we have to build with and what weapons we need to fight with when we are forced to fight.

Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare—I be-



lieve it is fair to say that identification of the weaknesses in our educational system has not resulted in the launching of a crusade designed to eliminate them in the shortest possible period of time. The need for urgent action has been underlined by leaders in and out of the field of education but has not been accepted by many of the citizens of our nation.

This failure to launch a national crusade to eliminate the weaknesses

in our educational system should be of grave concern to all of us. Furthermore, I believe that we should not only view the situation with concern but I believe that we should do something about it.

We are living in an age of peril. It may be an age that will extend over a period of thirty to fifty years. I believe that our ability to survive will depend to a very considerable degree on our ability to give all citizens of this nation an equal opportunity to realize their highest potential.

Furthermore, I believe that, unless we move steadily in the direction of achieving such an objective, we will be violating a spiritual law of life and as a result our spiritual life will disintegrate to such an extent that we could be eyewitnesses to the decline and fall of our civilization.

Al Hartnett, secretary-treasurer, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—There



has been raging—and still is—in this country a crippling recession. Millions have been thrown out of work because of bad

planning or management and the inability of the Administration in Washington to get away from the card games and golf courses long enough to realize the plight of so many of our citizens.

The time for balanced budgets, if there must be balanced budgets, is when we have a balanced economy, not an unbalanced one.

Ways must be achieved to end this recession, put people back to work, restore purchasing power and give the people not only a bare living wage but a hope that they can enjoy the marvels of modern automobiles and appliances, among other things.

The new Congress was elected with a solemn mandate to do a job for the people. That job must be done.

We all have our eyes on Congress. It carries our hopes and aspirations. Pray that it will honor its mandate.

Harold C. Hanover, president, New York State AFL-CIO—When we



speak of the programs of relief and aid to dependent children, the blind, the aged and the disabled, we must make it clear that we are not talking of charity but

of a solemn obligation of government under the general welfare clause of the Constitution—an obligation and responsibility to see to it that no one—who for reasons beyond his control is unable to provide them—goes without the minimum requirements for decent living.

We cannot lose sight of the specific problems inherent in the public welfare program. One of these problems in some areas is the attitude of public welfare administrators and employes toward applicants.

Labor believes that every single person involved in the administration of public welfare, from the top to the most recent employe, must be thoroughly aware of—and carry out in the day-to-day contacts with those seeking and receiving relief—the philosophy underlying our relief programs.

That philosophy is simply this: These are fellow citizens. They have a constitutional right to aid under the general welfare clause. They are not recipients of charity but are getting this aid as a matter of actual right.

John J. Sparkman, Senator from Alabama—Many thousands of low-income families are trapped in slums. Their only opportunity for a decent home in the foreseeable future is the low-rent public housing program.

There are veterans in rural and outlying areas who cannot obtain home loans because of the shortage of mortgage financing in their localities. Families of military personnel cannot afford exorbitant prices caused by housing shortages in the vicinity of military installations.

Many elderly persons have to live in deteriorating hovels and firetraps, instead of in decent dwellings or safe nursing homes. Some of the worst slums in the country are occupied by farm families.

Housing is in danger of becoming a pawn in a questionable game of budget politics.

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